

DNS XVIII 2022

MARINE WORLDS OF THE LONG EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Abstracts and biographies (in order of appearance)

Women on the (watery) margins

Chair: Gillian Dooley

Sarah Ailwood

University of Wollongong

‘I am quite sick of the seas’: Anna Josepha King in New South Wales

In 1800, Anna Josepha King was the first consort of a New South Wales Governor to accompany their spouse to Sydney when they took up their Vice Regal post. The voyage to Port Jackson was not King’s first to the southern colonies, having already accompanied her husband Philip Gidley King to and from Norfolk Island in 1791 and 1796. Although on her arrival in Sydney King declared in her diary that she was ‘very happy – to put my foot once more on dry land – and I hope never to take another voyage after arriving again in England – for I am quite sick of the seas’, King would make a third and final voyage to Australia in 1832, remaining in Sydney until her death in 1844. This paper explores Anna King’s account of her voyage to Sydney, and the intersection of feminine agency and Indigenous dispossession at the centre of a life framed by maritime experience.

Sarah Ailwood is Senior Lecturer in Law at the University of Wollongong. Her current research explores women’s voices, listening and legal contexts, both historically and in the present. She has published widely on eighteenth-century and Romantic women’s writing, including on Jane Austen and women’s legal memoirs.

Claire Knowles

La Trobe University

Sublimity, and the Sea in the poems of Charlotte Dacre and Sophia King.

The received wisdom is that Mary Robinson's extraordinary sonnet sequence, *Sappho and Phaon* (1796), had very little impact on subsequent representations of Sappho (and Sapphic suicide) in the nineteenth century. This paper complicates this assumption by exploring what might be termed the 'Sapphic moment' – the moment just before Sappho leaps off the Leucadian cliffs into the sea—in the poetry of sisters Charlotte Dacre and Sophia King. I explore a number of these 'Sapphic moments' in Charlotte Dacre and Sophia King's poetry and argue that the sisters' poetics of powerful feeling, a poetics, as King describes it, 'of that wild and original nature, which speaks to the heart,' is designed to evoke a sublime effect on the reader; to carry the reader out of herself and into a world of powerful excess and possibility. In this it is directly influenced by Robinson's *Sappho and Phaon*.

Claire Knowles is a Senior Lecturer in English at La Trobe University. Her most recent book was an edition of Charlotte Smith's *Major Poetic Works* (Broadview, 2017), co-edited with Ingrid Horrocks. Claire has published widely on the female writers of the Romantic period, and is currently finishing a book, *Women, Della Cruscan Poetry, and the Fashionable Newspaper*, to be published by Palgrave in 2023-2024.

Francesca Kavanagh

University of Melbourne

'A Wave of Ink': The Watery Materiality of Dorothy Wordsworth's 'Floating Island at Hawkshead'

This paper seeks to chart the flow of ink on the pages of Dorothy Wordsworth's commonplace book alongside the flow of the lake in her poem 'Floating Island at Hawkshead.' In tracing the circulation of Wordsworth's poetic images and marginal annotations during a period of illness for Wordsworth, this paper will demonstrate the way in which 'Floating Island at Hawkshead' collects and redistributes fragments of Wordsworth's poetry as they are, like the floating island, 'loosened' from their textual shores in the margins of other poems. In doing so, it will argue

that the watery materiality of 'Floating Island at Hawkshead' is central to Wordsworth's poetic process as she prepares for death.

Francesca Kavanagh is a PhD candidate in the department of English and Theatre Studies at the University of Melbourne. Her current research focuses on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women's reading and writing practices with a particular interest in material culture. Her other research interests include the gothic, and cultures of fandom from Romanticism to the present. Her work has been published in *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* and *The Australasian Journal of Victorian Studies*.

Eric Parisot

Flinders University

'The Death of Anaboo': Suicide as Imperial Disease in Barrington's *Annals of Suicide, or Horrors of Self-Murder* (1803)

In 1803, *Biographical Annals of Suicide, or Horrors of Self-Murder*—an anthology of suicide stories—was published, falsely under the name of George Barrington. 'Calculated to deter even the most wretched from this horrible crime,' as the title page suggests, it is a collection of stories about suicide that are almost exclusively set in European contexts. There is one exception: 'The Death of Anaboo,' the first story of the collection. The story details the tragic demise of a young Indigenous woman who dies of a despairing, unrequited love for a married, white settler, something akin to a cross-cultural *Werther* in the southern colonies. But despite the colonial setting, the narrative—as well as the constructions of suicide it inheres—is decidedly European. This paper will argue that the story functions figuratively to portray the exportation of suicide as an imperial disease, as a contaminant to a population and culture whose understanding of and exposure to modern, Western conceptions of suicide was non-existent prior to colonisation. The story may have been 'calculated to deter,' but it is instead a story that exposes the incipient corruption of First Nation peoples with the Western idea of suicide, arguably

foreshadowing the postcolonial impacts underpinning the suicide crisis in Indigenous communities today.

Eric Parisot is a Senior Lecturer in English at Flinders University. His interests primarily lie in the literary representations of death and suicide, the Gothic, and their intersection with the history of emotions. He is the author of *Graveyard Poetry* (Ashgate, 2013), and of the forthcoming *Jane Austen and Vampires* (Palgrave Macmillan). His current project examines the transformative cultural negotiation of suicide as a modern idea in the late British eighteenth century.

Global maritime connections and spatialities

Chair: Kristie Flannery

Kathleen Burke

University of Toronto

Wrestling with disconnection: memories, food, and enslavement in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire

How did enslaved people in the Dutch East India Company's eighteenth-century empire view the Indian Ocean? These people – from Malabar, Coromandel, Bengal in present-day India, the eastern part of today's Indonesia – were forcibly transported across the ocean to the Company's ports littered along the ocean littoral. By shifting our perspective away from colonial elites, we can grasp a very different sense of the ocean, one that speaks of lost homelands, families, and selves. This paper explores the ocean from the perspective of enslaved cooks and cultivators in the Company's headquarters in Batavia, present-day Jakarta, Indonesia. By spotlighting how enslaved people transported, grew, and processed familiar plants from their homelands, I explore how the ocean signified both disconnection and loss, as well as opportunities for new kinds of connections. Using food as an analytical object, I reconstruct how enslaved people used food to overcome their disconnection from their homelands, forging links, however partial and incomplete, with memories and ontologies of self before their enslavement.

Kathleen Burke is a PhD candidate at the University of Toronto. Kathleen is presently a visiting PhD student at the Australian National University, in Canberra.

Alexei Kraikovski

University of Genova

The Ocean: discovered and imagined. St. Petersburg maritime empire and the Russian oceanic dream in the 18th century.

In my presentation, I will reconsider the history of the 18th-century maritimization of Russia from the recently proposed perspective of the maritime empire as a network of interaction between human and non-human actors. This perspective permits leaving behind the traditional military perspective almost completely concentrated on the history of construction and use of the Russian navy as an instrument of territorial expansion and power projection. Instead, I will explore the process of maritimization as a complicated societal transformation, when St. Petersburg became a maritime metropolis, settled by a community of urbanites, linked to the oceanic nature through numerous ties. From this perspective the governmental projects of transformation of the Russian marine harvesting, coastal water transportation, and fish consumption, can be considered together as a reproduction of the collective imaginary of European maritime power, based on the impressions received in Amsterdam and London. Eventually, I argue, this story provides an important insight into the hidden mechanisms staying behind the global process of the Early Modern maritimization, with the parallels to the Russian story, seen from Prussia to China.

Margareta Turkalj Podmanicki

J. J. Strossmayer University

Katarina Horvat Levaj

Institute of Art History in Zagreb

St Blaise: A World Traveller on Ragusan Ships and the Patron Saint of the Dubrovnik Republic Churches of St Blaise in Dubrovnik and across the World

The Dubrovnik Republic is widely known for its history, architecture, and culture, and especially for its maritime merchants, whose ships sailed the world under the flag of St Blaise, the patron of their city-state. They transferred his cult to the colonies they were founding on their maritime routes from India to South America, erecting churches and chapels dedicated to the saint and thus imprinting their identity and presence in distant parts of the world. Nevertheless, among the most magnificent churches dedicated to St Blaise is the one in Dubrovnik, built in 1706-1715. Its architecture is yet another result of Dubrovnik's multiple overseas connections, as well as the site of the unique Festivity of St Blaise, recognized by UNESCO as a world intangible cultural heritage. The church was designed by a master from another Mediterranean republic, Venice: it was Marino Gropelli, a sculptor and architect who thus brought to Dubrovnik a peculiar combination of Byzantine heritage and Baroque. The said model, reworked in the spirit of Ragusan architectural tradition, was then exported by Dubrovnik's travellers to overseas countries, where it was combined with the local architectural tradition (Italy, India, Peru). In this way, a unique body of churches was created that transcends the boundaries of continents.

Katarina Horvat Levaj graduated in art history and archaeology and got her master's and doctor's degrees at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb. She works at the Institute of Art History in Zagreb, where she is now head of the scientific-research project Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736) and Fortress-Towns on the South-Eastern Border of the Habsburg Monarchy. Within the scientific research programme of the Institute, she worked on a series of subjects related to architecture and town planning in the Baroque period. She published numerous scientific works and

books on these subjects, including a synthesis of 17th- and 18th-century architecture in Croatia: *Baroque Architecture, History of Art in Croatia* (2015). She was awarded the Croatian Annual National Award for Science (2003, 2017), and the Annual Award of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (2012). She teaches as Associate Professor at the Art History Departments of the Faculty of Philosophy of Split University and Osijek University. She was member of the National Council of Science, Higher Education and Technological Development (2014–2016). Since 2019 she has been director of the Institute of Art History.

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Margareta Turkalj Podmanicki is Associate Professor of Art History at the Department of Visual and Media Arts at the Academy of Arts and Culture, J. J. Strossmayer University in Osijek, Croatia. Her scientific and professional interest focuses on art and architecture from the 15th to the end of the 18th century. She has specialized in field and archival research abroad. She is a mentor in postgraduate studies at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb. She teaches courses in art history at undergraduate studies, specialist postgraduate studies, and lifelong education programs at the Josip Juraj Strossmayer University in Osijek. She has published many professional papers on the subject and the books: *The Baroque Sacral Architecture of the Đakovo-Osijek Archdiocese* (2018.) and, as co-author with Katarina Horvat – Levaj, *The Palace of the Slavonian General Command in Osijek* (2019). She collaborates on the Croatian Science Foundation project *Eugene of Savoy (1663 – 1736) and Fortress-Towns on the South-Eastern Border of the Habsburg Monarchy*.

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Indigenous Objects on the Move: Case Studies in European Collecting

Chair: Kate Fullagar

Caroline Paganussi

Museo e Real Bosco di Capodimonte

Encountering the Other on a Philippine Quiver

Object 3258 in the Museo Civico Medievale in Bologna, Italy made an extraordinary journey from the Philippines to Italy in the mid-18th century. The bamboo quiver bears elaborate pyrographed floral motifs, a hunting scene, and curious interactions between European and indigenous figures. An inscription declares that Pedro Murillo Velarde (1696–1753) – a Spanish Jesuit missionary in the Philippines between 1723 and 1749 – donated it to the ‘Museo de Bononia,’ a study collection for scholars at Europe’s first university. In this paper, I clarify the object’s iconography and provenance, illuminating its significance in relaying Philippine culture to Italian audiences and that of the oceanic trajectories that brought it to Bologna.

Caroline Paganussi is the American Friends of Capodimonte Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow at the Museo e Real Bosco di Capodimonte in Naples, Italy. She co-curated with Sylvain Bellenger and Carmine Romano the exhibition *The Road to the Baroque: Masterpieces from the Capodimonte Museum* (2022) and contributed to the catalogues *Battistello Caracciolo* (2022), *Oltre Caravaggio* (2022), and *Depositati di Capodimonte. Storie ancora da scrivere* (2022). Her research focuses on representations of scholars and intellectual life in early modern Bolognese art. She received a PhD from the University of Maryland, an MA from University College London, and a BA from Cornell University.

Bart Pushaw

University of Copenhagen

A Maritime Canine: Incising Alutiiq Agency in the Eighteenth Century

In the eighteenth century, an Alutiiq carver incised scenes of hunters pursuing marine mammals onto a whale tooth. The iconography reveals that some Indigenous hunters wear colonial caps of the Russian American company. Eager to monopolize a lucrative trade in otter pelts with Qing China, the Russian American company enslaved Native hunters, driving sea otters to the brink of extinction. Now in the collection of the Estonian History Museum, the tooth embeds histories of duress and resilience. Tracing this movement from the Pacific to the Baltic, I argue that the imagery's circulatory logic invites a reading that restores Indigenous agency.

Bart Pushaw is Mads Øvlisen Fellow at the University of Copenhagen, where he teaches art history. As a part of the international research network 'The Art of Nordic Colonialism: Writing Transcultural Art Histories,' he centers Indigenous artists of the Circumpolar Arctic between 1700 and 1950. He recently collaborated on the exhibition Aalut Kangermiu at Nuuk Art Museum. His writing has appeared in or is forthcoming in *Journal18*, *Journal of Art History*, and *ArtMargins*.

Carmine Romano

Museo e Real Bosco di Capodimonte

Curious Encounters in the Collections of the Reggia di Capodimonte

Since its foundation, the Reggia di Capodimonte – erected in 1734 as the residence of the Bourbon Kings of Naples – has gathered in its collections works and objects from across the globe. Notably, objects taken from Oceania by Captain James Cook (1728–1779) and Joseph Banks (1743–1820) entered Capodimonte's collections shortly after the British voyage of 1768–1771. This paper identifies the ways in which these objects shaped Neapolitan culture, arguing that their encounters with some of the palace's tenants – including Charles and Ferdinand of Bourbon and Elena of Savoy-Aosta – had repercussions for Capodimonte's installations and the ways in which Neapolitans saw and conceived of one another.

Carmine Romano is the Head of Digitization and the Digital Catalogue at the Museo

e Real Bosco di Capodimonte in Naples, Italy. He has co-curated exhibitions and co-authored catalogs on Vincenzo Gemito, Pablo Picasso, masterworks from the Capodimonte museum, and artworks from Capodimonte's extensive stores. His research focuses on the art and culture of 18th -century Naples, with particular emphasis on the Neapolitan crèche and the local reception of Oceanic objects and culture. He holds a PhD from the Sorbonne, two MA degrees from the Suor Orsola Benincasa University of Naples, and a BA from the University of Naples 'Federico II.'

Marine Debris: The Currency of Oceanic Objects in the Long Eighteenth Century

Chairs/Commentators: Kathleen Davidson & Molly Duggins

This panel takes as its theme the stateless oceanic object, from organic marine products borne of the sea to the flotsam and jetsam circulated through its currents. Charting the currency of mobile marine material culture, it explores its translations and transactions within the intersecting spheres of art and science, trade and colonialism in the long eighteenth century. By focusing on the substance in motion – refined through the ocean waves and human engagement – the panel foregrounds the materiality, cultural entanglements, and exchange value of such slippery objects. In doing so, it seeks to unmoor terrestrial models of commoditisation to explore histories of material fluidity within the spatial and temporal expanse of the marine world.

Georgina Cole

National Art School

Ambergris in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Medicine, Perfume and Natural History

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, ambergris was a substance in motion, slipping between categories and definitions. Prescribed in remedies for low spirits, disorders of the head, heart, stomach, nerves and loins, it was thought to

have a fortifying and restorative effect on the body. However, its widest application was in perfumery, where it featured in formulas for scenting clothes, accessories, hair and cosmetics, becoming an expensive marker of status and taste. Despite the ubiquity of ambergris in pharmacopeia and perfumery, its provenance remained obscure. Within the field of experimental and empirical science ambergris was classified with equal vigour as a mineral and an animal substance. As a product of the sea, it appealed as much to the intellectual curiosity of members of the Royal Society as it did to the commercial prerogatives of whalers and merchants, who also had a stake in the explanation of its origins. This paper considers the impact of Enlightenment empiricism on the perception and interpretation of ambergris. Subject to the experimental methods of the chemist and the first-hand observation of the whaler, the explanation of ambergris was fraught with underlying tensions between the scientific establishment and commerce. Despite the discoveries that would eventually confirm its origins in the sperm whale, ambergris remained an ambiguous substance difficult to categorize. As a sensorially potent and philosophically equivocal substance, it occupied the intersections of aesthetics, natural history, and commerce.

Georgina Cole is Lecturer in Art History and Theory at the National Art School, Sydney. Her research focuses on sensory themes in eighteenth-century art and ideas, including vision impairment and perfume. She has published on representations of blindness in eighteenth-century British art and is currently working on the use and perception of ambergris in natural history and perfumery.

Jessica Priebe

National Art School

Finding Chaney: The Detritus of Colonial St. Croix

Washed up along the coastline and buried in the soil on the island of St. Croix are fragments of colonial-era porcelain known as chaney. A hybrid of the words for money and china, chaney refers to the remnants of ceramics brought to St. Croix in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by European colonisers. Thrown overboard

by sailors to avoid port taxes, broken in celebration of European customs, cast out as plantation garbage and ground into the earth during the labour riots of the nineteenth century, chaney is a symbol of colonial entanglement, intercultural exchange and resistance. Drawing on field research and postcolonial critiques of colonial settlement and slavery in the Caribbean, this paper considers the distribution, circulation and archival memory of chaney among plantation owners and enslaved populations, especially as it relates to the consumption of European ceramics by enslaved communities on St. Croix. This paper also investigates the visual and haptic engagement with these fragments, which have been transformed by their exposure to the water and soil in ways that have both preserved and changed their forms. Found in abundant supply on the island, chaney is collected by contemporary artists and artisans who repurpose the shards into jewellery using local smelted metals. The history of chaney plays an important role in the marketing of these wares. As such, chaney jewellery has evolved into a national touchstone and cypher for rethinking the linear and conclusive narratives around the logic of empire, consumption, and the hierarchies of European porcelain design.

Jessica Priebe is a lecturer in art history at the National Art School. She is a former research fellow in Enlightenment Studies at the Sydney Intellectual History Network. A specialist in eighteenth-century visual and material culture, her research interests include collecting, museum studies and Caribbean decorative art. She is the author of *François Boucher and the Art of Collecting in Eighteenth-Century France* (2021). Her essays appear in *British Art Studies* (2021), *PMC Notes* (2021), *Making Ideas Visible in the Eighteenth Century* (2021), *The Journal of the History of Collections* (2016), *Un Abrégé du Monde: Savoirs et Collections autour de Dezallier d'Argenville* (2012), *Sea Currents in Nineteenth-Century Art, Science and Culture* (forthcoming) and *Artists' Collection: Objects Frameworks and Ideas* (Edition Metzler, forthcoming). Jessica is the co-founder of NFTedu, an education platform that fosters awareness of emerging digital technology in the creative arts.

Over seas and Undersea: Marine Objects and Imagery in Eighteenth-Century Art

Chair: Robert Wellington

Alison Inglis

University of Melbourne

An eighteenth-century shell house in colonial Australia: the Werribee Park Mansion Grotto

The involvement of eighteenth-century shell collectors in decorative craft-based pursuits has received considerable scholarly attention in recent years. The continuation of this collecting tradition to colonial Australia has also been recognised but relatively little research has focused on this colonial cultural activity. One example of decorative shell work is the shell grotto in the gardens of Werribee Park, the large property near Melbourne established by the Chirnside family in the 1870s. The interior of the much-admired island grotto was decorated with 'beautiful shells gathered and arranged by Mrs A Chirnside' and was described by one visitor as: 'presenting a fairy-like appearance at once captivating to the eye.' (*Geelong Advertiser*, 31 March 1882). This paper will reconstruct the history of the Werribee Park shell grotto to determine the extent to which it represents the transplantation of eighteenth-century English landscape traditions to nineteenth-century Australia - and particularly the adaptation of an English tradition of aristocratic, feminine collecting and display into a distinctly antipodean decorative idiom.

Louise Box

University of Melbourne

Rights of Passage: Channel Crossings, Collecting, and Commerce

For eighteenth-century English travellers bound for France, voyages to Calais were uncomfortable and often perilous. Intrepid collector Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland (1715-1776), vividly recorded their financial and

physical cost in her diaries, letters, and accounts. This paper investigates her channel crossings as settings of elite power and cultural commerce and demonstrates how maritime transactions benefited the development of her collections. By offering 'incentives' to ship's captains, coercing acquaintances to convey artworks on her behalf, and deploying savvy methods to avoid import duties, the duchess defied storms, becalming, and truculent customs officials to transport her acquisitions on her own terms.

Dr Louise Voll Box is a Teaching Associate in Art History and Curatorship at the University of Melbourne. Her research interests centre on eighteenth-century material culture; art collecting and display; and the intersections of business and the arts. She has been a Harold Wright and Sarah and William Holmes Scholar at the British Museum's Department of Prints and Drawings, and has undertaken research supported by the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, and the Francis Haskell Memorial Fund. She is a Trustee of the Colin Holden Charitable Trust, which supports scholarship, exhibitions, and publications focused on prints.

Matthew Martin

University of Melbourne

Where corals lie – Carlo Ginori's porcelain for the ocean floor

Prior to the eighteenth-century, European natural philosophers often speculated that sea shells formed an essential ingredient of Asian porcelain. This notion was no doubt encouraged by perceived common material characteristics of both shells and porcelain. The creation of a European porcelain in Dresden in 1708 demonstrated that shells were not required for the material's manufacture, but associations between porcelain and the marine world persisted. A remarkable series of porcelain objects produced in the 1750s by Marchese Carlo Ginori's porcelain factory in Sesto Fiorentino exemplify this. Sculptural groups intended as border markers for coral farms on the sea bed off the coast of Tuscany, these porcelains instantiate an ongoing association between the 'living minerals' coral and shells, and natural philosophical speculations about the material nature of porcelain.

Matthew Martin is Lecturer in Art History and Curatorship, and Course Coordinator of the Master of Art Curatorship in the University of Melbourne. From 2006 to 2019 he was a curator in the department of International Decorative Arts and Antiquities in the National Gallery of Victoria. His current research interest include the cultural aesthetics of eighteenth-century European porcelain, and confessional networks amongst eighteenth-century artists and artisans.

Diplomacy in the long eighteenth century

Chair: Kate Fullagar

Robert Wellington

Australian National University

Medals for Matelots and Corsairs

This paper reveals the origins of modern naval and military medals in French royal gifts of the seventeenth century. A new medal was designed for seafaring mercenary allies in 1693 during the War of the League of Augsburg. It was the first medal to be made specifically as a military award during Louis XIV's reign, and it encodes the practice of gifting medals in its imagery. The king is enthroned on the prow of a ship, with Neptune's trident in his left hand, and holding out a medal on a chain bearing his portrait in the right. The naval officer approaches, bows in supplication, and holds out both hands to accept the reward.

The French Royal Navy flourished in the 1670s under the auspices of Jean-Baptiste Colbert. However, following devastating losses at the Battles of Barfleur and La Hougue in 1692, Louis XIV's navy would never again equal that of the Dutch and English. The Sun King's maritime strategy turned to piracy in last great campaigns of his reign. This paper traces the history of Louis XIV maritime activities through royal registry of gifts of medals, from those given to the galley builders of the 1670s to those awarded to pirates and raiders in the first decades of the eighteenth century.

Samantha Happé

University of Melbourne

The role of maritime travel in shaping the diplomatic gift in Louis XIV's France

The last two decades have seen the emergence of strong interest in the role of the diplomatic present as an object of exchange, ever since the suggestion by Anthony Colantuono that artworks played a salient role in European diplomatic negotiations. Accompanied by the ambassador and other diplomatic representatives, the ensemble of carefully selected gifts would need to reach the foreign court without incident or being waylaid by misadventure. During the long eighteenth century, efficient transportation and communication from France to non-European countries placed an emphasis on maritime commerce and voyages by sea.

This paper explores the role of water and maritime journeys in shaping and determining the diplomatic gifts that were sent from Louis XIV's court by focussing on the voyages of two extraordinary embassies. The embassy to Siamese monarch Phra Narai led by the Chevalier de Chaumont departed Brest on 4 March 1685, reaching Ayutthaya nearly a year later. This journey was entirely by boat, as both the presents and the embassy travelled up the Chao Phraya to the Siamese capital. This contrasts with the tumultuous journey to the Safavid Persian capital of Isfahan in 1705 by ambassador Jean-Baptiste Fabre and entrepreneur Marie Petit. Beginning with a maritime journey across the Mediterranean to Alexandretta, the gifts travelled overland through the Levantine deserts via camel caravans. Through examining on the reality of extensive overland and oversea travel, it is possible to suggest their influence on the diplomatic gifts.

Samantha Happé is a PhD candidate and Graduate Research Teaching Fellow at the University of Melbourne in the art history department, and a Research Officer at the Centre of Art History and Theory at the Australian National University. Samantha's current research project studies the role of the gift in negotiating diplomatic relationships between France and non-European nations during the reign of Louis

XIV. Her doctoral thesis examines the visual and material culture surrounding the Persian embassy to Versailles in 1715.

Penny Edmonds

Flinders University

Emancipation Acts on the Oceanic Frontier? Intimacy, Diplomacy, Colonial Invasion and the Legal Traces of 'Protection' in the Bass Strait World, 1832

Inspired by postcolonial and feminist scholarship and new work on the law and British humanitarian governance, along with recent considerations of the maritime and 'oceans connect' approaches, this paper examines the apparent 'emancipation' acts of colonial officials and Quakers who turned to the law to retrieve high-status Australian Aboriginal women from sealers on both sides of the Bass Strait frontier in the Southern Oceans. Foregrounding issues of legal plurality, Indigenous law and political diplomacy alongside those of Europeans, and attending to questions of intimacy, gendered governance, protection and the law, the paper considers how these variously intersected in an 'anomalous legal zone' - the watery Bass Strait world stretching between Van Diemen's Land and Port Philip on the Australian mainland. In paying attention to Bass Strait as one oceanic and colonial legal field and the appeals to law to address the problem of abduction, the paper argues that higher orders of diplomacy were at play in a precarious period when the rapid colonisation of Aboriginal lands, negotiation and the stabilisation of incendiary frontier violence were necessary. Here, the attempted legal regulation of intimacies on colonial peripheries was directly connected to issues of land, invasion, diplomacy and treaty making.

Penny Edmonds is Matthew Flinders Professor of History in the College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences, Flinders University, Adelaide, Australia. Her recent publications include *Settler Colonialism and (Re)Conciliation: Frontier Violence, Affective Performances, and Imaginative Refoundings* (Palgrave, 2016), and the collection *Intimacies of Violence in the Settler Colony* (co-edited with Amanda Nettelbeck, Routledge, 2018). Her paper 'Emancipation Acts on the

Oceanic Frontier?' won the 2018 inaugural *Law and History* journal's Theory, Race and Colonialism (TRACE) award.

Spaces and politics of satire

Chair: Miranda Stanyon

Shel Rogers

University of Otago

Unstable Compass Points: Attitudes toward Gunpowder in Three Eighteenth century European Imaginary Travels

Over half a century ago J. R. Hales demonstrated that European attitudes toward gunpowder had already become ambivalent long before Milton depicted the cannon as diabolical. By the eighteenth century, it was a commonplace that the invention of printing was divinely inspired, while the invention of gunpowder was Satanic. As Priya Satia has demonstrated in *Empire of Guns*, England had become a leading arms manufacturer by the end of the eighteenth century. This talk examines the representations of gunpowder in three popular European satires: Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), Ludvig Holberg's *Niels Klim* (MS early 1730s, Latin original 1741, tr. Eng. 1742), and Robert Paltock's *Peter Wilkins* (1751). Both the latter titles are indebted to *Gulliver's Travels* but express attitudes toward gunpowder and colonialism that contradict Swift's views.

All three of these satires sought to critique contemporary culture and in doing so their authors would have placed themselves on the side of the angels, yet the technologies of literacy and printing are either ignored or introduced only after artillery. What does this order of priorities reveal about the power of print satire and the role of arms in encounters with non-Europeans? These mid-century works cast light on a period of ambivalence as Britain struggles with how to engage with indigenous populations and how to maintain colonial control in India, North America and Africa.

Assoc. Prof. Shef Rogers teaches English literature and book history at the University of Otago. He is President of SHARP (Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing) and editor of *Script & Print*, the journal of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and NZ.

Sara Fernandes

University of Melbourne

'And Nelson was a parson's son too!': Crossing the Line with Johnny

Newcome

In the early 1800s, Jamaica was the subject of ongoing satirical visual representation, particularly in the print shops of William Holland and Thomas Tegg. Prints going by titles such as 'Grand Jamaica Ball', 'Segar Smoking Society in Jamaica' and 'The Torrid Zone, or, Blessings of Jamaica', lampooned Jamaica's 'motley' social spaces, representing them as sites of alarming racial mixing and cultural laxity. An emergent character in this genre of colonial satire was 'Johnny Newcome', variously depicted as a redcoat or sailor, these prints show a young, eager Johnny after the Bacchanalian rituals that marked an equatorial crossing, newly arrived in the West Indies eager to enter fully into island life. These prints have been studied by art historians, most notably Kay Dian Kriz in her important book *Slavery Sugar and the Culture of Refinement* (2008). However, the Johnny Newcome character also appeared in written works after 1803, and these works, including the mock-heroic poem *The Adventures of Johnny Newcome in the Navy* (1818) have not been the subject of recent scholarship. Where the visual depictions of Johnny are entirely scathing of Johnny's initial naivety and increasing 'Creolisation' as he assimilates into the equivocal role of white West Indian, later narrative representations tend towards a more sympathetic portrait of Johnny, casting him as the nation's 'second son' (Ward 2017, 3). This paper traces the evolution of the Johnny Newcome character within the context of shifting generic codes and changed political circumstances as Britain went to war with France.

Sara Fernandes is a teaching associate in English and Theatre Studies at the University of Melbourne and an associate researcher with the ERCC. Her research

interests include medical history, disability studies, and skin studies with a focus on the way these fields intersect to generate new ways of thinking through questions of genre and form in eighteenth-century fiction. She has published in *Medical History*, *Textual Practice*, and *New Literary History*, and has forthcoming work in *European Romantic Review*.

Tom Ford

Pipes: Carceral Politics and Littoral Poetry

In their first decades, the British colonies in Australia were a thin scattering of littoral prison camps: beachheads of military autocracy in the skirts of a vast continent. These might not appear to have been circumstances particularly conducive to poetry. The publication of poetry in the colony did not commence until 1803, and remained infrequent and spasmodic for at least another decade. But this published poetry was preceded, and would be accompanied up into the 1820s, by the poetic practice known as ‘pipes.’ Pipes were anonymous satirical verses—underground, samizdat poems. Their production and circulation in manuscript were important mechanisms for the political contestations of the early colony; they provided a way to position, organize and direct alternative claims to authority under conditions of censorship and vice-regal absolutism. In this paper, I discuss the practice of piping and identify the texts of pipes that remain in existence. It is an account of poetry on the beach and in the penal colony.

Oceanic aesthetics

Chair: Eric Parisot

Alyse Muller

Shore and Sea Aesthetics: French Marine Material Culture in the Eighteenth Century

In its maritime imagery, France expressed the most crucial condition of its empire.

Without maritime trade and travel, France could not have built a colonial and economic empire during the long eighteenth century. The act of seafaring underpinned France's newly global commerce and defined its networks. However, the pictorial expression of this history is by no means simple. The slippage between real and fictive, aesthetics of idealism and verisimilitude, along with the professional impulses to both replicate and innovate, all characterize the marine paintings of France's ascension to world power in the eighteenth century that I explore in this paper.

Two artists, Jacques de Lajoüe (1687–1761) and Joseph Vernet (1714–1789), are exemplum of two poles of the temporal and French aesthetic spectrum, which comprise this study. By juxtaposing the seascape typologies of Lajoüe's Rococo playful capriccios and Vernet's large topographical state painting projects, I reconsider these artistic responses to maritime connections and associations. These objects provide a unique lens into proto-capitalist economic trends, stylistic change, and shifting ideas of nationhood as well as empire. By reframing these types of marine works through interdisciplinary methods pioneered in the fields of postcolonial and landscape studies this paper hopes to elucidate an overlooked genre of art.

Alyse Muller is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Art History and Archeology at Columbia University. Alyse's dissertation, 'Between Land and Sea: French Maritime Imagery in the Long Eighteenth Century,' reconsiders a range of artistic responses to maritime connections and associations.

Megan Blake

Monash University

Feeling blue: the ocean as literary topos for sentiment

In his book on the world's oceans, *Seven-Tenths*, James Hamilton-Paterson calls our pre-19C understanding of the oceans, 'literally superficial': the sea was a navigable surface, 'above an abyss.' It wasn't until the late 18th century that we began the

'second discovery' of the oceans, comprehending them as three-dimensional bodies with sub-marine geography and history. As Melville has Ishmael say, though: 'meditation and water are wedded for ever.' And the rise in our knowledge of the oceans, in our literary tradition of marine figures, and in sailor suits and swimming lessons, is matched by a turn from poetic inspiration and imagination being conceived of rationally and located in the material world, to locating them in the subaqueous depths of individual poetic feeling and reflection.

In Johann George Hamann's work on the role of the numinous, he opens a gap in highly rationalistic neo-Aristotelian literary discourse for Romanticism's reliance on the sub-marine suprarational. Hamann's 1762 text *Aesthetica in nuce* introduces the idea of the numinous to Enlightenment-guided conceptions of 'inspiration' and 'imagination', and disrupts their construction as rationally-driven and deriving solely from external phenomena, but asserts God as the source. Hamann acknowledges the mass of the ocean, but does not explore its spatial and temporal depths. His work, however, paves the way for the later *Frühromantik* ideology of the author's subjective, subterranean feeling as the source of this singularity.

Megan is an early career researcher with a PhD from Monash University, focusing on the influence of author-concepts on hermeneutics and the way in which movements in religion, science, philosophy and aesthetics have intersected and evolved in the Anglophone/Western European world since the 16th century. She most recently spoke at the 2021 and 2019 biennial conferences of the RSAA on Johann Georg Hamann's influence on early Romanticism, and on 'romanticised' conceptions of Shakespeare; and, at the 2018 conference of the Australian and New Zealand Shakespeare Association, on reverence for the original in Shakespeare adaptations.

Catherine Rogers

Study in Blue: Anna Atkins and Her 'Impressions of the Plants Themselves'

Sea-shells and seaweeds, objects of nature that appeared from below the blue

surface of the sea to reveal themselves on the shore, became popular and important subjects of study in science and art in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, particularly for women who drew and painted botanical specimens – many for publication. Anna (Children) Atkins (1799-1871), an accomplished botanical illustrator already familiar with the ocean's edge, took a quite novel direction for her illustrations of British seaweeds, boldly undertaking to produce the first photographically printed and illustrated botanical book with her *Photographs of British Algae: Cyanotype Impressions*. Her publication, commenced in 1843, was the first use of photography as an illustrative medium and preceded WHF Talbot's publication *The Pencil of Nature* (1844-1846), a treatise on the nature of photography – his invention. Atkins completed her project of at least 389 individually captioned images per complete volume in 1853. Atkins specimens were rendered visible in monochrome, in blue, using John Herschel's (1792-1871) 1842 discovery of the cyanotype, an iron-based (rather than a silver-based) photographic process. It was Atkins' courageous illustrative method using camera-less photography to picture and name each specimen of seaweed chemically, in blue, that distinguishes her publishing achievement. Each plate is a direct copy of the actual botanical specimen placed in close contact with the cyanotype-coated paper – the seaweed becoming its own negative – and each image was, essentially, repeatable. Atkins produced possibly 12 complete copies of her large work on British Algae.

Catherine Rogers is an artist and historian working with photographic imaging and technologies, its processes, and procedures. She specializes in the beginnings of negative/positive photography in the nineteenth century, as well as twentieth-century vernacular photography, and has exhibited and published in these fields. A survey exhibition of her own photographic work made from 1977-2022, *Evidence and the Visible*, was held earlier in 2022 at the Drill Hall Gallery, Canberra. Currently she has a selection of photographs, *Oceans of Australia*, on show in the Power Collection, Chau Chuck Wing Museum, University of Sydney. Her PhD examines W H F Talbot's photographic images, processes and procedures in his publication, *The Pencil of Nature* (1844-1846).

Religious spheres

Chair: Linda Zampol D'Ortia

Brandon Chua

University of Hong Kong

Conviction on the Hanoverian Stage: Representing Religious Toleration in the Drama of Samuel Johnson and Eliza Haywood

Recent studies of the British Enlightenment have turned to a site of cultural production traditionally overlooked in Enlightenment scholarship: the playhouses of Eighteenth Century London. This paper takes up this line of inquiry into Georgian theatrical entertainment by exploring the ways in which the medium of Georgian theatre was uniquely positioned to tackle one of the central quandaries posed by Enlightenment sociability: the contested place of religious conviction within a state established on principles of religious diversity. In this paper, I examine the drama of Eliza Haywood and Samuel Johnson in the context of public concerns over religious pluralism, and the gradual attempts by the Hanoverian state to legitimate forms of toleration to Protestant non-conformity. By looking at the ways in which Hanoverian drama represents the charged relationship between religious conviction and communal peace, I suggest that the Georgian playhouses were especially invested in interrogating the ways in which the institutionalization of religious toleration put pressure on norms governing the representations of intimacy and the domestic sphere. Focusing on the feminization of religious conviction and representations of interfaith romance in the drama of Johnson and Haywood, this paper seeks to account for the ways in which the Georgian stage managed the conflicting emotions around the issue of toleration, and the forms of personas and identities it opposes and licenses.

Brandon Chua is Assistant Professor at the University of Hong Kong. His research interests are primarily in Restoration and Eighteenth Century Drama. He has published on Eliza Haywood, Aphra Behn, and John Dryden.

Peter Denney

Australian Catholic University

Listening to Religion: Sound, Politics and the Public Worship Controversy in the 1790s

According to Thomas Paine, in 1797, church bells were a ‘public nuisance’ incompatible with liberty. Their sound did not so much communicate established religion as impose it on everyone within earshot regardless of the many different varieties of worship, which were practised by people in an affected community. In addition, bells grounded religious belief in emotional experience rather than rational inquiry. This paper examines the links between sound, liberty and sensibility in debates about religion in Britain in the era of the French Revolution. It focuses primarily on the meanings of noise and quietness in writings of religious Dissent, especially in the context of the public worship controversy initiated by Gilbert Wakefield and joined by Mary Hays, Joseph Priestley and Anna Barbauld, among others. At issue in this controversy were the effects different kinds of sound had on the emotions. There was considerable anxiety about the sonic aspects of religion in the 1790s. This was partly due to the association between noise and popular religious enthusiasm, which was increasingly heard as an auxiliary of revolution. Another important factor, though, was a new emphasis on sound as a form of nervous stimulation conducive to group solidarity but corrosive of individual autonomy.

Peter Denney is Associate Professor of History at Griffith University. His most recent publications include, co-edited with Stuart Cooke, *Transcultural Ecocriticism: Global, Romantic and Decolonial Perspectives* (Bloomsbury, 2021) and, co-edited with Jock Macleod and Will Christie, *Politics and Emotions in Romantic Periodicals* (Palgrave, 2019). He is currently completing a monograph on soundscape and landscape in eighteenth-century Britain, while commencing a new project on the senses in world history.

Anthony Page

University of Tasmania

Maritime Worlds in the Wodrow-Kenrick Correspondence

Samuel Kenrick and Rev. James Wodrow corresponded for six decades, from 1750 to 1810. Remarkably, both sides of their correspondence, at over 500,000 words, were preserved and housed together at the Dr Williams's Library in London, where it has been preserved but little used outside of specialist scholars of eighteenth-century religion and politics. They formed a deep friendship as university students at Glasgow in the 1740s, after which Kendrick worked as a tutor before settling as a banker at Bewdley on the River Severn in Worcestershire. Wodrow became a Church of Scotland minister on the coast of Ayrshire. This paper will discuss the various ways maritime worlds appear in the correspondence, and reflect on what this can reveal about the links these provincial men had to the sea and empire.

Dr Anthony Page is a Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Tasmania. He is author of *Britain and the Seventy Years War: Enlightenment, Revolution and Empire, 1744–1815* (2015), and his PhD on a leading unitarian rational dissenter and political activist was published as *John Jebb and the Enlightenment Origins of British Radicalism* (2003). He has published various articles on Rational Dissent, politics and antislavery in the late eighteenth century. With Emma Macleod (Stirling) and Martin Fitzpatrick (Aberystwyth), he is co-editing *The Wodrow–Kenrick Correspondence, 1750–1810*, of which the first volume appeared in 2020.

Winds from afar: The ship motif in sacred contexts in Asia and Australia

Chair: Chip Van Dyk

Russell Kelty

Art Gallery of South Australia

Where the land meets the sea: Foreign ships and the Okunchi festival in Nagasaki

A fascination with foreign ships and the commodities, ideas, and people they conveyed is one of the defining aspects of art and culture of the Edo period (1615-1868). As the arrival of foreign ships declined throughout the Edo period their interest in them increased. This is evocatively displayed each year in October year at the Suwa Jinja (shrine) in Nagasaki which holds its annual fall festival known as the *Okunchi matsuri*. The *Okunchi matsuri* was initiated in 1634 however it was during the eighteenth century when it became what it is today. A highlight of the festival is the procession of distinctive floats from each district of Nagasaki inspired by local culture and customs as well as the presence of foreigners and foreign ships at the port during the late Momoyama (1573-1603) and Edo periods. The *Okunchi matsuri* is a reminder of the prominent role that foreign ships played in the establishment of the port of Nagasaki as well as the Tokugawa shogunate's international policy throughout the Edo period.

Russell Kelty is Curator of Asian Art at the Art Gallery of South Australia, where he has curated and contributed to exhibitions and catalogues, including *Pure Form: Japanese Sculptural Ceramics* (2022), *Samurai* (2019) and *Treasure Ships: Art in the age of spices* (2015-2016). He specializes in the art and culture of Japan, with particular emphasis on global trade and the influence of foreign ideas and commodities in painting during the Edo period (1603-1867). He received a BA in Art History from Colorado State University, completed an MA in Art History at the University of Adelaide, with a thesis that examined Vietnamese architectural tiles from the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries found in Indonesia and is currently a PhD candidate at the University of Sydney researching the depiction of foreign ships in Japan from c. 1639 to c. 1868.

Yuexiu Shen

Art Gallery of South Australia

Smooth Sailing (一帆风顺): Zhangzhou ware and Fujian ship culture

This presentation will examine a *Large dish, with astrological compass design*, in the collection of the Art Gallery of South Australia which displays a hybrid 'treasure ship' as well as a symbol most readily associated with astrological divination and geomancy. *Large dish* was created in the mid-seventeenth century and is an example of Zhangzhou ware which was exported from Fujian, China, throughout Asia and often acquired heirloom status. The paper will explore the context of the emergence of Zhangzhou ware in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and its decline in the early Qing dynasty (1644-1911) and touch base on Fujian ship culture.

Yuexiu Shen is a Curatorial Assistant at the Art Gallery of South Australia, where she conducted research on Asian artists and artworks. Her special interests lie in the transformative porcelain industry of Jingdezhen during the Republic period (1912-1949), as well as the extrovertive cultural connections between the Fujian Province of China and the rest of the world. Yuexiu received a BA in English Language and Literature from Xiamen University, a MA in TESOL from the University of Melbourne, and a MA in Arts and Cultural Management from the University of South Australia.

Max Moon, Sacred ship on Arnhem Land

Ships and maritime culture are important elements in the art, culture and philosophy of Arnhem Land, connecting the Yolŋu people and their neighbours not only to their internal universe, but to worlds far beyond their physical borders. Today these connections are celebrated in ceremony and the everyday, with both ritual and practical goods honouring the long legacy of ocean voyages in the region.

Max Moon is a writer, independent researcher and arts administrator from north Australia whose interests lie in the connections between eastern Indonesia and northern Australia, with particular attention to the cultural ties embedded in textiles and other forms of material culture. He completed Indigenous Studies at University of New South Wales and Indonesian Studies at University of Sydney and Universitas Gadjah Mada in Yogyakarta, Central Java. He has a background in

collection management and community arts with previous experience working at National Archives Australia, Darwin, and Threads of Life Textiles in Ubud, Bali. Max is currently the Collections Manager at Milingimbi Arts and Culture Centre in Arnhem Land, north Australia, where he leads their program of digital repatriation and development of a bespoke community database.

Mary Wollstonecraft's Encounters on the Swedish Coast

Chair and commentator: Katherine Borland

Kristina Hultman

Stockholm University

Clues to the Kattegat and the North of Halland: A microhistorical perspective on Mary Wollstonecraft's observations of maritime life in the west of Sweden, in June 1795

This presentation offers a microhistorical perspective of 1795 northern Halland, Sweden, shedding light on a famous literary text that includes vague but discernible descriptions of the area. Mary Wollstonecraft's *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark* and her private letters will be considered within the context of Scandinavian maritime structure: harbors, sea customs, piloting, light-houses and gender norms. The presentation draws upon a 2019 field study to northern Halland, a county by Kattegat on the western coast of Scandinavia, just south of Gothenburg, an early modern gateway for trade in the North Sea, the Baltic and Ocean worlds.

Virginia Cope

The Ohio State University

Wollstonecraft's Rocky Landing: Revisiting Letters Written from Sweden in Sweden

In 2019, I retraced English philosopher Mary Wollstonecraft's 1795 journey to Scandinavia, a marine encounter that changed literature. In Sweden, I was guided

by Kristina Hultman, who has explored the sites Wollstonecraft encountered after insisting upon disembarking, unexpectedly, from the merchant ship carrying her from England, at Nidingen, a lighthouse island, and Onsala Peninsula. In this presentation, I place *Letters Written in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark*, considered to be the origin of the Romantic travelogue and Wollstonecraft's finest writing, within the context of the maritime structure into which she entered when she set foot upon the rocky west coast of Sweden.

Katherine Borland (commentator)

The Ohio State University

Historical Enthusiasts: Reflecting on 'citizen humanities' research

I accompanied Dr. Cope on her 2019 research trip to Denmark, Sweden and Norway as both a travel companion and research consultant, drawing on my expertise in Folklore/Ethnography to support the collection and analysis of the work of contemporary Wollstonecraft aficionados, who have conducted research outside of university structures that is of value to university researchers as well as the general public. My interest is in how local historians recuperate the story of Wollstonecraft's journey by investigating and sharing marks on the landscape.

Sea Time

Chair: Killian Quigley

Sue Reid

University of Sydney

Extracting the Ocean's Movements: Retracing Lost Currents

This experimental paper will bring together impressions of the ocean's dynamic, watery nature preceding the industrial scaled exploitations of more-than-human marine others. It will draw on a wide range of scientific research pertaining to the movement physiology and collective energy generation of diverse whale, migrating

fish, and krill, as well as historic accounts quantifying volumes of fish and whale removals. Imagining with this material, I intend to create a speculative and evocative view of the ocean's dynamic character prior to the intensifying predations of contemporary, commercial fishing and whaling frontiers. The paper argues from a multibeing justice perspective that extractivism not only empties the seas of their lively inhabitants but, with their removal, it also extracts the ocean's constitutive movements.

Sue Reid is a transdisciplinary, cultural theorist affiliated with the University of Sydney with research interests that include multibeing justice and ocean relationalities. She is also an artist, writer, and lawyer, and a PhD candidate with the Department of Gender and Culture Studies. Sue recently submitted her thesis 'Imagining Justice with the Ocean.'

Thom Combe

Griffith University

Technologies of Time and Space: The historical charts of Joseph Priestley and Adam Ferguson

In the 1760s a new method for graphically representing time and history emerged. In his *A Chart of Biography* (1765) and *A New Chart of History* (1769), Joseph Priestley sought to display key aspects of intellectual and political history against a meticulous grid which observed the passage of time from left to right on a uniform x axis. A decade or so later, a similar chart (though presented with a perpendicular orientation), was included in an entry on 'History' in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and attributed to Adam Ferguson. Both charts presented events becoming increasingly crowded towards the end of the 18th century, as the pace of developments in the modern world appeared to accelerate. The principle advantage of this form of historical chart over traditional narrative historiography was the ability for the observer to absorb the totality of the represented period in a single glance. In so doing the student of history was made aware of the connections and overlaps between key thinkers, or the comparative scale and longevity of past

and current empires. The charts condensed temporal space to achieve this unitary historical 'scene', but they also collapsed the marine partitions between and within empires. This paper will explore the connections between time, history and oceanic divides reflected in these charts which emerged at an historical moment when the vast scale of oceans was coming further under human control, and conceptions of time appeared to be both deepening and accelerating.

Thomas Combe is a PhD candidate at Griffith University, Gold Coast, where he is working on the influence of technology in European thought during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His research focuses on how Enlightenment visions of a technological mastery of nature continue to inform contemporary political and economic thought.

The sea and sentiment

Chair: Paul Giles

Lyndon Fraser

University of Christchurch

'The Watery Grave': Representations of Death, Grief and Mourning in the Shipboard Accounts of British and Irish Migrants to New Zealand

This paper draws on more than 400 shipboard accounts to explore private experiences of death, grief and mourning on voyages from Britain to New Zealand from the beginnings of systematic colonisation. My central argument is that the long ocean journey and prospect of a 'watery grave' did not undermine Christianity; nor did it represent an 'abrupt termination' of older death practices or attitudes. Death at sea disrupted familiar land-based relations between the living and the dead, created anxieties over the fate of corpses, and challenged dominant models of *ars moriendi*. As we might expect, responses to death and loss varied according to denomination, gender, marital status, class, age and region. What is clear, however, is that migrant writers tended to construct the meaning of individual deaths in terms

of their own Christian beliefs and personal relationship with God. The next section examines the ways in which the act of departure from home was often framed in ways that made use of similar kinds of consolatory language to those employed by Georgians and Victorians dealing with grief. In the second and third parts, I turn attention to omens, signs and responses to shipboard fatality, as well as funeral ritual and the cultural work of the dead at sea. The final section considers the tragic loss of children, who were always the most vulnerable category in these maritime worlds, just as they had been on land.

Lyndon Fraser is Head of the Department of History at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand and co-editor of the *New Zealand Journal of History*.

Shane Greentree

Fish, Sentiment, and Source Criticism in the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire

To the Victorians, Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-88) was a monumental work marred by its lack of feeling, with Leslie Stephen finding it 'everywhere deficient in that sympathetic power which enables an imaginative writer to find life in the dead bones of the past.' Modern critics such as David Womersley and Charlotte Roberts similarly ponder whether Gibbon developed a more sympathetic view of the past or remained skeptical towards sentiment. In this paper, I argue that Gibbon instead discusses sympathy in aesthetic terms: consciously comparative, distanced, and consistently evaluating his sources for their success or failure in evoking sympathy. Curiously, the humble fish provides a fine lens to explore this approach. To this end, I explore episodes where fish help define Gibbonian sentiment, from the dying Theodoric haunted into reliving his crimes by the sight of a fish's head at the royal table, to Gibbon epitomising the inhumanity of the Sarmatians in their use of fish-bones dipped in poison. Living fish too provide an Olympian perspective on human suffering, feeling 'more terror and distress' from 'the approach of a voracious pike' than the inroads

of Gothic armies. Reading the undercurrents of the *Decline and Fall* in this fashion, then, offers insight into Gibbon's idiosyncratic method.

Whaling and fishing in the Global South

Chair: Kristie Flannery

Shameer T.A.

University of Hyderabad

The Fisheries and Colonial Modernity: transformation of subaltern subjects in South Asia

This paper explores the idea of "Maritime Raj" in the Indian Ocean littoral, to identify the notions of colonialist and post-colonial dimensions in the transformations of Maritime spaces/changes in the power structures in South Asian coastal communities. The paper tries to understand that, British administration has brought several changes in the port administrations, various economic reforms, also changes in the 'various subjects' related to the Maritime world. The colonial maritime policies on the Malabar Coast have enhanced several changes in the various communities, resources, socio-economic patterns, and political stability. Fisheries and fishing communities were one of the core spaces where colonial maritime changes were reshaped. The 'Mukkuvas' (fishing community in Malabar), was the one example of the colonial experimentation policies. It states that, from the traditional fish catching community to the disciplined, came under the state surveillance system through various regulations in the region. The introduction of Indian Fisheries Act made several changes among the daily life of fishing community, especially introduction of fishing yards had created a new capitalist class in the coastal societies and generated the differences within the coastal community. Even after the colonial raj, the contemporary political state also following such restrictions and demands. This study is primarily not to draw a point between colonial and post-colonial disciplines, instead, the legal changes in the Maritime spaces of Malabar was connected through long span of time.

SHAMEER T.A is a doctoral candidate Department of History, School of Social sciences, University of Hyderabad, India. He is interested in Maritime History, Islamic Studies, Indian Ocean studies, and Colonialism. He is presently working on the Maritime History of Malabar from 1800 to 1947. The study is to understand the notion of colonial modernisation/Modernity in the transformation of maritime spaces in South Asia, particularly in Malabar. The period of study from 1800 to 1947, in which various colonial modernization/regulations had taken place in the Ports, Ships, and Merchants in Malabar. His PhD tilted as ‘ ports and British Raj: Governmentalisation of Maritime Malabar’. He has published one international paper, ‘Modernity and Reformist Rhetoric among the Muslims of Malabar.’ published in the Journal of Islamic and Muslim Studies (JIMS) (Vol 5: No 2, November 2020) by Indiana University Press.

Haureh Hussein, Trier University

The Whaling Industry and the Tasman Sea (1790-1840)

When the Englishman James Cook and the Polynesian Tupaia left the Australian continent and the Aborigines in 1770, they, unintentionally, revealed the differential and diametric temporalities of the Tasman Sea (Alison Bashford 2021). While Cook and Tupaia only ‘perceived’ the door (1770), Lit-Gov. King and Tuki/Huru ‘opened’ the door (1793); this paper demonstrates that it was the whaling industry which eventually ‘passed’ through the door, and so enabled the alleged connecting factor of the Tasman World.

Between 1790 and 1840, Port Jackson, Norfolk Island, Hobart, and the Bay of Islands emerged as important stopover places for the transoceanic whaling industry. Rangatira of the Ngāpuhi Iwi actively fostered the interactions with whaling ships by providing supplies and young men’s labour. Many of these whaling ships were either captained or financed by Quakers in the Atlantic world. This industry

enabled a new form of mobility, which crucially connected the Tasman World as an interaction space.

This paper builds on Alison Bashford's thoughts (2021) and argues that it was the transoceanic scale of the whaling industry which contributed to the formation of the Tasman Sea. With its manifold maritime interaction spaces, the whaling industry played a crucial role in shaping the Tasman Sea.

Political economies in New South Wales

Chair: Michael McDonnell

Chip Van Dyk

Raising Cane: Transplanting the tropics to grow sugar in New South Wales

The First Fleet introduced sugar cane plants to colonial Australia as one of many experiments that transplanted foreign species. The introduction of new species was not only designed to sustain colonists, but also to determine whether these crops were commercially viable as exports. Following the successful, but abandoned, experiment to grow sugar on Norfolk Island in the eighteenth century, the push to cultivate cane began on the mainland in New South Wales. The motives behind this effort combined the botanical imperialism of Joseph Banks, the penal reforms of JT Bigge, and the commercial interests of individual growers. This latter group involved a wide range of participants from former enslaved West Indian sugar workers to missionaries.

Before the advent of coerced labour and large-scale plantation production in Queensland, the role of the labour force and the expertise required to create a viable industry were open to speculation and experimentation. The early effort in New South Wales also benefited from attempts by the London Missionary Society to produce sugar on a commercial scale in Tahiti, with the migration of plants by sea, and the exchange of agricultural knowledge through the movement of

individuals. As the venture progressed, indigenous leaders and missionaries both expressed concern about Tahiti becoming like the West Indies.

This paper explores how maritime expeditions facilitated the circulation of tropical species and knowledge from the West Indies and Tahiti to cultivate sugar in New South Wales. This pre-history of sugar also considers how early experimental efforts developed into large-scale plantations and unfree labour practices.

Laura Jovic

University of Melbourne

Maritime logistics - supplying the colony of New South Wales and the Indian connection, 1792

Until the fledgling colony at Port Jackson could become self-sufficient, the isolated penal settlement depended on the importation of goods from distant ports for its survival. The logistics of sending provisions across the oceans formed a major part of the planning and ongoing administration of the colony. Store ships were sent from Britain but delays and loss at sea meant that the colony suffered near starvation and a dire lack of clothing in its early years. This paper will discuss the first forays made by merchants in India to supply the colony with basic goods. Particular focus will be given to a tender made in 1792 by a Calcutta-based East India Company agency house, Lambert Ross & Co., for the regular supply of food and convict clothing to the colony. While they proposed to source goods at competitive prices, Lambert, Ross & Co also emphasised their ability to deliver supplies from India in considerably less time than the cargoes sent from Britain. The correspondence between Calcutta, Port Jackson and the Home Office in London regarding the provisioning of the colony illuminates how the settlement, from early on, was linked into the maritime world of the Indian Ocean and the long-distance trading networks of East India Company deep-sea vessels.

Laura Jovic is currently completing her PhD candidate at the University of Melbourne. Her thesis investigates dress in colonial Australian settler society. From

2007-2012 Laura was a curator of Australian Fashion & Textiles at the National Gallery of Victoria where she curated the exhibitions *Australian Made: 100 Years of Fashion* and *Linda Jackson Bush Couture*. Laura's publications include "Anna King's dress: trade and society in early colonial Sydney", *emaj* (2017) and "'Anything for mere show would be worse than useless': emigration, dress and the Australian colonies, 1820-1860" in *Dressing global bodies: the political power of dress in world history* (Routledge, 2020).

Darwinian Currents

Chair: Kate Fullagar

Alice Capstick

Monash University

Anemones to Enemies: A Literary Darwinist approach to social conflict on the High Seas

The pressures and tensions of social relationships are often exacerbated by the circumstances of being at sea. By using a Literary Darwinist approach to examine the representation of anti-social acts performed at sea, we gain new insight into the significance of influential scenes from eighteenth-century texts. The sympathetic representation of the mariner's suffering despite the impulsive act which causes the death of his entire crew in Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1798), Walton and his crew's embrace of the creature and prejudice towards the creature in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), and the social decision to cannibalise the servant to preserve the remaining survivors in canto two of Lord Byron's *Don Juan* (1819), are all episodes which encourage readers to identify and blame antisocial perpetrators. This paper will argue that part of the influence of these incidents is the way the social circumstances of these crimes appeal to various aspects of evolutionary psychology. A possible explanation for the way some anti-social actions in literary texts promote more abhorrent reactions from readers than others—despite having less severe social consequences—can be

developed by using biocultural theories to account for the way readers identify and interpret antisocial actions.

Alice Capstick is a PhD student at Monash University. Her work focusses on the development of alternative heroic archetypes in the very long eighteenth century. In particular, she is interested in understanding how the figure of the Satanic hero developed into a fully established archetype in the Romantic period. She also hosts the podcast 'Of the Devil's Party.'

Alexis Harley

Latrobe University

Darwin's Coral Sublime

In January 1832, barely two months into the voyage of HMS *Beagle*, the young Charles Darwin recorded in his diary his 'first burst of admiration at seeing Corals growing on their native rock'. His morning with the corals of St Jago provided a 'memorable epoch', he wrote, comparable with a geologist's first sighting of volcanic rock. By the 1830s, the word 'epoch' had come to denote for geologists a division of the history of the earth. Used by this young geologist, it suggested a temporal duration apparently out of all proportion to the couple of hours Darwin had spent fossicking among corals after breakfast.

A decade later, Darwin would publish *The Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs*, the first of the three volumes on the geology of the *Beagle* voyage that would establish Darwin as a geologist 'whose forte,' as Jonathan Smith has put it, 'was sweeping theories about large-scale phenomena in distant locales'. In *Structure and Distribution*, Darwin advanced a novel theory of coral reef formation, one predicated (like his later theory of evolution via natural selection) on thinking through modulations of scale, tiny animals and minute accretions over time combining with the slow subsidence of the ocean floor to form the vast geological phenomena of coral reefs. In Darwin's early accounts of coral, accounts that precede his theory of reef formation, his language disturbs the logics of both temporal and spatial scale to

provide the pre-theoretical conditions of thought for his attribution of immense geological phenomena to the aggregation of seemingly insignificant ones. In particular, aesthetic discourses of scale – particularly the scalar dimensions of the sublime and beautiful, which Darwin had encountered in his reading of Edmund Burke and Joshua Reynolds as a student at Cambridge – structure his seeing, writing and thinking of coral.

Alexis Harley lectures in English at La Trobe University. Her paper enlarges on ideas about the impact of aesthetic modes on practices of scientific observation, tested in a recent essay, "Darwin, the sublime and the chronology of looking" (*After Darwin*, Cambridge UP, 2022), and her monograph, *Autobiologies: Charles Darwin and the Natural History of the Self* (Bucknell UP, 2015).

Chris Murray

Monash University

'The Dangerous Mysteries of Ocean': Mary Shelley and Coleridge's Darwinian Crisis

In the framing narrative of *Frankenstein*, Robert Walton quotes Coleridge to describe his experiences on the North Sea. While Mary Shelley's Preface directs us to Erasmus Darwin, her references to 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner' enable us to consider *Frankenstein* specifically as a response to a spiritual crisis, inspired by Darwin, which informs Coleridge's poem. To Coleridge, Darwin's work describes a terrifying and godless universe of chance which grants humanity no pre-eminence. Problematizing the idea of a 'Modern Prometheus', in the terms of Coleridge's reaction to Darwin, the Monster plays 'outcast' to Victor Frankenstein's 'blind idiot'. Shelley seizes upon the Mariner's voyage as representative of scientific investigation, which has been made ironically haphazard and even futile in Coleridge's pessimistic reading of Darwin.

Elliot Patsoura

Navigating anxiety in *The Botanic Garden*

This paper examines Erasmus Darwin's proposal, formulated in the didactic poem *The Botanic Garden* (1791), to engineer the climate according to British whim. Anxious about the effects of severe Arctic winds on British winters and spooked by the drowning of colonial ships by rogue icebergs, Darwin combines poetic revelry with explicatory footnote to advocate towing entire 'ice-islands' into warmer, tropical waters. Should European nations 'be induced to unite their labours to navigate these immense masses of ice into the more southern oceans,' Darwin opines, 'the tropic countries would be much cooled by their solution, and our winters in this latitude would be rendered much milder for perhaps a century or two.' The paper will consider how Darwin's proposal works to ameliorate climactic and colonial anxieties by reconciling a romantic vision of nature with what Alan Bewell has identified as 'the cosmopolitan and commercial ideas of the eighteenth-century British manufacturing elite.'

Roundtable on 'Prau, Galleon, Warship, Trader: The eighteenth-century vessel as a site of encounter'

Chair: Leonie Stevens

Lily Yulianti Farid, Harrison Croft, Leigh Penman, David Haworth, Kellie Clayton

This roundtable of interdisciplinary scholars from the Global Encounters Monash (GEM)

Project will explore the eighteenth-century vessel as a site of diverse encounter.

These encounters – occasionally richly recorded, but often fleeting and ethereal – occurred between peoples, cultures, ideas, and species. Discussion topics will include:

- Lily Yulianti Farid - Makassar-Indigenous Australia early encounters, and Asian intercultural interactions on praus;
- Harrison Croft - class/race/gender intersectionalities aboard the eighteenth-century Royal Navy warship, demonstrating the unique social hierarchies at play during this period;
- Leigh Penman - ship-based diversity on Dutch East India Company (VOC) vessels, resulting in the contact of VOC crews with Indigenous Australians being not simply of Dutch-Indigenous or even European-Indigenous;
- David Haworth - eighteenth-century encounters between European vessels and black swans, and the assumptions Europeans brought with them that black swans were an impossibility;
- Kellie Clayton - whether Dutch expeditions or Macassan perahu were more likely to have encountered beeswax or whale products in northern Australia in 1754.

Gendered identities in eighteenth-century worlds

Chair: Deirdre Coleman

Hamish Wood

University of Sydney

Fluidity and Identity Regulation in Frances Burney's *Evelina* (1778): Captain Mirvan, No Longer at Sea

Influentially read by Judith Newton as an “erbildungsroman”, Frances Burney’s debut novel, *Evelina* (1778) suggests both a fluidity and fixity to personal identity through its close attention to scenes of growth and transformation alongside the seeming permanence of patriarchal strictures limiting feminine agency (1985). Close attention to the unpleasant figure of Captain Mirvan, a key antagonist of the novel, confirms however a salient problem of the nonfluid status of identity: his violent

attitudes towards women shape what Joanne Cutting-Gray has described as the novel's "world of duplicity and evil" (1990). This paper nuances understandings of the fixity of identity in the text by highlighting Mirvan's own temporal, and geographical, displacements. By situating Mirvan's violent temperament and outlook as a parodic reflection of Evelina's own naïve and pointedly untimely approach to the world around her, I argue that Mirvan's sailor masculinity operates as a dark doppelgänger of the text's interest in identity formation and regulation by its surrounding environments. By arguing for Mirvan's profane crassness as the obverse of the out-of-place Evelina, this paper contributes to understandings of gendered identity in the eighteenth-century novel's reckoning with a pluralisation of identities reflecting Britain's maritime worlds.

Gillian Dooley

Flinders University

'These Happy Effects on the Character of the British Sailor': Family Life in Sea Songs of the late Georgian Period

Songs about sailors were popular during the late Georgian period in Britain. Some were directed towards men in the navy or potential recruits, but they were also part of the musical repertoire of the middle-class drawing room. With large numbers of men needed to serve in the military in this time of war and colonial expansion, it was essential for the home front that their families remained cohesive, and ballads were sometimes written with the express purpose of promoting fidelity and patience on the part of both men and women. While some songs criticized the war, others aimed to recruit volunteers and encourage courageous and 'manly' behaviour. Cheap printed copies of such songs were widely available, often subsidized by the government. A common theme in these songs is the importance of the family life, reflecting the pervasive influence of the continual state of war on the lives not only of the men serving in the military but also of their lovers, wives and children. This paper examines the varieties of family and conjugal relations presented in the verbal and musical rhetoric of a selection of these songs, many of which are to be found in Jane Austen's music collection.

Gillian Dooley is an Honorary Senior Research Fellow at Flinders University, South Australia. She has published widely on various topics, including Jane Austen, often with an emphasis on music. From 2017-2020 she created detailed catalogue records for the 526 playable items in the Austen music collections for Southampton University Library.

Lani Gerbi

“She who says nothing, gives consent”: Reconceptualising the Performance of Sexual Consent in Britain and France during the Long Eighteenth Century

While the historical archive has developed a significant literature on rape and sexual assault over the past several decades, our understanding of sexual consent during the long eighteenth century remains incomplete. What debate there is occurs primarily in discussions of historic assaults or erotic literature and focuses almost entirely on the ways in which women’s ability to give consent was restricted and regulated by oppressive expectations of female silence and submission, as well as male violence and aggression. However, there is significant primary source evidence from the period, specifically within a British and French context, that demonstrates that female sexual consent was understood as an act of deliberate and willing submission, and was communicated physically and visually, rather than verbally. Therefore, expectations of female silence and modesty were not wholly restrictive principles, but rather elements of a framework within which women developed effective methods of sexual and romantic communication. This paper will challenge the orthodoxy of modern beliefs about women’s lack of sexual agency during the period. Using a selection of paintings by Jean-François De Troy, specifically *Venus and Adonis*, *La Déclaration de l’Amour*, *Susannah and the Elders*, and *La Jarretière détachée*, as well as examples from contemporary British erotic literature, I will demonstrate that women were able to express consent by making their faces and bodies sites of communication.

Lani has a Master's in History from the University of Adelaide and her thesis explores ideas about love, sex, and consent in eighteenth-century England, Scotland, and France using a broad range of primary sources, including art, literature, and life writing. She is particularly interested in the topic of women's romantic and sexual agency and is currently focused on developing ways to make research in this area more widely accessible beyond the academy.

Coromandel in the Long Eighteenth Century: Trade and Economy of the Coromandel Coast from Local, Asian and Global Perspectives

Chair and Commentator: Hideaki Suzuki

Ryuto Shimada

University of Tokyo

Coromandel Trade with Southeast Asia, Japan and Europe in the Long Eighteenth Century

Coromandel was a key trading area in Asia from the seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries. It exported cotton textile for Europe as well as for Southeast Asia and Japan. First, the paper shows a picture of international division of labor from a global perspective and puts the Coromandel economy in the picture. Second, the paper focuses on the Coromandel trade with Siam and Japan. It was conducted by the Dutch East India Company and by combined merchant groups such as Persian, Chinese and English private traders. By surveying this competition, the paper shows that the Coromandel trade was crucial, not only for Euro-Asian trade as shown by previous research, but also for intra-Asian trade.

Ryuto Shimada is associate professor at Department of Asian History, the Faculty of Letters, the University of Tokyo. He obtained PhD from Leiden University in 2005 and works on the maritime history of Asia since the sixteenth century He has

published extensively in Japanese and English such as *Intra-Asian Trade in Japanese copper by the Dutch East India Company during the Eighteenth Century*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006 and 'The Bay of Bengal Trade in the Late Seventeenth Century and Armenian Merchants,' *Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture*, 123, 2022.

Radhika Sheshan

Symbiosis School of Liberal Arts, Prune

Asian Merchants in the Coromandel Trade in the Eighteenth Century

While it is generally assumed that Asian shipping was overtaken and finally wiped out by European competition, this assumption is not supported by the sources for particularly the first half of the eighteenth century. The paper is divided into two parts. The first section focusses on the coastal trade, and on the Asian shipping involved in this trade. The second section examines the connections between European private traders and the Asian merchants, and the ways in which such trade continued to operate and to compete with the official English East India company's trade. It therefore focusses on the vitality of merchant enterprise in the eighteenth century.

Dr. Radhika Seshan retired as Professor and Head of the Department of History, Savitribai Phule Pune University, in August 2019. She is now Visiting Faculty, Symbiosis School of Liberal Arts, Pune. Her area of specialization is Medieval Indian History, within which she has concentrated on economic history, especially maritime and urban history. She is the author of three books, *Trade and Politics on the Coromandel Coast* (Primus Books, 2012), *Ideas and Institutions in Medieval India, 8th to 18th centuries* (Orient BlackSwan, 2013), and *The Constructions of the East in Western Travel Narratives, 1300-1800* (Routledge, 2020). In addition, she is the editor /joint editor of 10 books, including *Indian Ocean Histories: The Many Worlds of Michael Naylor Pearson*, jointly edited with Rila Mukherjee (Routledge, 2019/20), *Shankar Goyal: Marching with History* (felicitation volume) (Aditya Prakashan, 2021), and most recently, *Wage Earners in India 1500-1900: Regional*

Approaches in an International Context, jointly edited with Jan Lucassen, Sage (Sage Series on Politics and Society in India and the Global South), 2021. She has numerous research papers to her credit in national and international journals.

Water, Law, and Poetry in Colonised Lands

Chair: Penny Edmonds

Rose Peoples

Māori Land Court.

The legal poetics of freshwater in Queen Lili'uokalani's mele

This paper focuses on depictions of freshwater in the mele (poetry) of Lili'uokalani, Queen of Hawai'i. The laws governing freshwater in Hawai'i changed rapidly in the nineteenth century, driven by the demands of the water-hungry plantations. Water would become a commodity which could be bought and sold, reduced to a piece of property. In Lili'uokalani's mele, she writes back against this foreign legal structure; instead she describes wild and untameable waters, water with intrinsic value, and her intimate relationship with it.

Using a law and literature analysis, this paper invites a complex understanding of Lili'uokalani's role as legal actor and poet, and her understanding of the traditions of both Hawaiian poetry and the English poetry of the long eighteenth century, in her mele about freshwater.

Rose Peoples is a Research Counsel at the Māori Land Court. She holds Law and English Literatures degrees from Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington. She recently completed her Masters degree in English Literature. Her thesis focused on the legal themes in the poetry of Queen Lili'uokalani of Hawai'i.

Nikki Hessel

Victoria University of Wellington

Walter Scott, Waterways, and Settler Treaty-Making

In his analysis of the 1763 Royal Proclamation, which transferred French territory in North America to Great Britain at the end of the Seven Years' War, Ojibwe legal scholar John Borrows notes that First Nations' understandings of the document not only take into account 'contemporaneous speeches, physical symbols, and subsequent conduct,' but also another key document, the 1764 Treaty of Niagara. An Indigenous approach to treaty-making and treaty-interpretation is thus multi-modal, bringing in a range of discourses that exist beyond a single written text and pushing the definition of what counts as a 'treaty' to include these external texts. In this paper, I consider the possibility that *settler* understandings of treaty-making can also be read through this Indigenous methodology and thus re-imagine the text of a treaty as being just as interconnected with other, less obvious settler texts of the treaty-making process, including those treaties that deal with waterways.

The paper focuses on the 1820 treaty the United States and Ojibwe groups around Sault Ste Marie that secured the straits of St. Mary's River for the United States. It examines the ways in which settler understandings of water and waterways in the treaty manifest connections to English poetry, especially the poems of Sir Walter Scott.

Nikki Hessel is Associate Professor of English at Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington in Aotearoa New Zealand. She works on the intersection of Romantic Studies and Indigenous Studies and is the author of *Romantic Literature and the Colonised World: Lessons from Indigenous Translations* (Palgrave, 2018) and *Sensitive Negotiations: Indigenous Diplomacy and British Romantic Poetry* (SUNY Press, 2021).

Commentator: Sarah Ailwood

Sarah Ailwood is a Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Law at the University of Wollongong. Her PhD focused on Jane Austen and masculinity and she is the

author of *Jane Austen's Men: Rewriting Masculinity in the Romantic Era* (Routledge, 2020). She researches in the areas of gender, law, and literary studies.

Influenced by Natural History

Chair: Alexis Harley

Elizabeth King

Macquarie University

The Mysteries of Migration: Birds of Passage and Colonial Curiosity in Eighteenth-Century Britain

Avian migration was a provocative topic in eighteenth-century Britain. Birds of passage frequently came to represent untapped knowledge about the ocean and what lies across it. In 'The Swallow,' Charlotte Smith describes a longing to 'learn, fleet bird... from what wide wilderness you came across the sea.' Here, a specifically colonial curiosity is coupled with curiosity about the nature of migration itself. Alongside speculations about Africa's 'sultry' winds and 'palmy' groves, the poem also questions *how* swallows are able to 'ply again those pinions strong' over the 'vast and pathless ocean.' This curiosity is in tension with a religious understanding that there are mysteries about the world at large that humans should not seek to understand. 'The Swallow' ultimately concludes that nature's mysteries are 'understood alone,/By Him who gives her laws.'

Smith's poem exemplifies a colonial curiosity complicated by an ambivalent relationship to the question of knowledge itself. Migratory birds become symbolic vessels for both enthusiasm and anxiety about the colonial project, journeying across seas and bringing back knowledge of distant places. In *The Natural History of Selborne*, Gilbert White describes his 'mortification' that he remains 'not quite certain' about where exactly some birds migrate. At the same time, his reference to the 'difficulties' he has believing that certain 'bad fliers' are 'able to traverse vast seas and continents' reveals a hidden anxiety about particular birds traveling so far

from British shores. Migratory birds were read as both British subjects and repositories of knowledge about British colonies. Yet questions about whether such knowledge should be sought remained unresolved. This paper considers the wide significance of avian migration as a symbol for the British colonial project.

Elizabeth King is a PhD candidate at Macquarie University. Elizabeth's research focuses on animals and memory in early nineteenth-century women's literature. Elizabeth has recently had an article on Anne Brontë published in *Victorians* journal.

Hannah Murray

University of Liverpool

'No Such Place on the Maps': Island Improvement in *Equality* (1802)

Anonymously published in a Philadelphian deist magazine, John Lithgow's *Equality* is the first utopian fiction written in the US. Set in the proto-communist, proto-feminist and anti-individualist unlocatable island of Lithconia, *Equality* offers a world without class hierarchy, gender inequality, or slavery. While existing limited criticism reads the text in its context of 1790s radicalism, this paper considers the text in the context of eighteenth-century geology to examine its temporalised and spatialised framing of improvement.

Influenced by Buffon's *Natural History*, Lithgow charts the creation of the island as a process of accretion, the slow continuous process of building of sediment out of the water. I argue that the text employs this coastal geological framework in its depiction of the island's millions of years movement towards communism.

Equality's lengthy timescale shows the inevitability of a socialist society to exist at 'some time or other', but also its intangibility, as the text's gradualism elides and euphemises revolutionary shifts. Like many utopian texts that followed, *Equality* provides a blueprint of the future - it is up to readers to bridge the gap between the present and the future yet to pass.

Dr Hannah Lauren Murray researches early national US literature and culture and

lives in Melbourne. Her first book *Liminal Whiteness in Early US Fiction* (Edinburgh, 2021) examines fluid and precarious whiteness in American fiction 1798-1857 and received an Honourable Mention in the British Association of American Studies First Book Prize. She has also published in *The Oxford Handbook of Charles Brockden Brown* and *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation*. Her current project examines early US utopian writing and its relationship with race and the land.